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Chairman: Mr. Rodolfo MUNOZ (Argentina).

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter [Item 33]*

1. Mr. DAVIN (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, presented the Committee's report (A/2219 and Corr.1).

2. Part one of the report dealt with items 33, 34 and 35 of the agenda (items 34, 35 and 36 of the provisional agenda (A/2158)). Part two contained a report on social conditions which had been drafted by a special sub-committee and approved, with certain amendments, by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

3. The Committee had endeavoured to include in its report essential information regarding its discussions, resolutions and actions so as to provide a comprehensive document for the purposes of the General Assembly and a useful source of information for governments and the general public. The report also contained brief indications of the attitude taken by delegations in the discussions and of the grounds on which the decisions of the Committee had been based. Annex I to part one of the report listed the documents examined by the Committee and the summary records of its meetings, while annex II contained three draft resolutions for submission to the General Assembly. Draft resolution A, which dealt with social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, had been adopted by 13 votes to 1, with 2 abstentions (part one of the report, para. 36). Draft resolution B, which dealt with racial discrimination in the Non-Self-Governing Territories had been adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (part one of the report, para. 41 and 42). Draft resolution C, on the future of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, had been adopted by 13 votes to 3, with no abstentions (part one of the report, para. 83). To understand the implications of draft resolution C, reference should be made to paragraphs 82 and 86 of part one of the report.

* Indicates the item number on the agenda of the General Assembly.

4. He noted that the Committee had been unable to reach agreement on the question of the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work. It had rejected a draft resolution submitted jointly by the representatives of Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India and Pakistan (part one of the report, para. 90 and 108). It had earlier rejected a Soviet Union amendment to paragraph 1 of the operative part of that resolution. The draft resolution submitted by the United States, the text of which was given in paragraph 97 of part one of the report, had also been rejected.

5. Mr. HOPKINSON (United Kingdom) was glad, as Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, to have an opportunity of taking part personally in the work of the Fourth Committee. The Minister of State was called upon to answer for the Government's colonial policy to Parliament and the members of the Fourth Committee were not alone in showing some impatience at the rate of development of the colonies towards self-government. It must also be remembered that a strong body of opinion in the United Kingdom could not accept what it regarded as interference in British colonial affairs by certain States which, it felt, were far behind many Non-Self-Governing Territories under British administration in such matters as health, hygiene and education, as well as personal liberty, justice and equality before the law.

6. He was proud of his country's achievements over some hundreds of years in what might be described as the colonial field. Nearly a dozen States Members of the United Nations had once been under British administration, whether as colonies, protectorates or mandated territories. In addition there were the Irish Republic and Ceylon and Jordan, which had applied in vain for membership of the United Nations. All those States had now become sovereign independent countries, either bound together with the United Kingdom and other free nations by the bonds of the Commonwealth, or associated with other groups of States, or standing quite alone. In most cases, the development had taken place in an orderly fashion, but even where the separation from the mother country had been effected by force of arms, the bitterness had long since disappeared.

7. The United Kingdom had therefore reason to show a certain optimism about the future. It was seeking to bring greater health and happiness to millions of men, women and children and to lead them on to true self-government or independence. Of course, much still remained to be done, but the United Kingdom was determined, even at the cost of real sacrifice, that the task should be carried through, and it would welcome any help from other Members of the United Nations. It was for that reason that the Government of the United Kingdom and the other Powers administering colonial territories had included in the Charter the declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories which was embodied in Chapter XI. The United Kingdom was determined loyally and sincerely to carry out the obligations which it had assumed in the Charter.

8. During the past few years, successive British governments had stated and restated that the central purpose of British colonial policy was to guide colonial territories to responsible self-government, probably within the Commonwealth, in conditions that ensured to the people an orderly social system, the highest possible standard of living and sufficient protection from aggression from any quarter.

9. To that end, the United Kingdom was seeking to build up in each territory the institutions which its circumstances required, and to pursue the economic and social development of the territories as well as their political development; without social stability and a soundly based economy, self-government would be only a snare and a delusion. He was sure that the members of the Fourth Committee would consider that the objectives and principles of British colonial policy were in entire accord with the Charter of the United Nations.

10. As the United States representative had observed during the general debate in the Assembly (380th plenary meeting), differences could arise on questions of pace and method. He would therefore give a brief summary of the methods which the United Kingdom Government was using to achieve those purposes.

11. He noted first that it was by design that he had used the word "colonial", which was often used as a term of abuse both in the United Nations and elsewhere; thus, in the general debate in plenary session (383rd meeting) the representative of the Soviet Union had attached a very special meaning to it. Very often the word "imperialism" was used in a similarly derogatory sense. It was therefore important to define those terms carefully in order to avoid all confusion. In the days of ancient Greece, a colony was an overseas territory where citizens from the metropolitan country settled. The great colonies of settlement such as North America, Australia, New Zealand and the republics of Central and South America had long ago emerged on the world stage as independent nations. Because that emergence had sometimes been associated with quarrels with the mother country, the term "colonialism" had been used to describe the relationship between the settlers and their country of origin.

12. Today, the position was quite different. In many colonies, comparatively little settlement had taken place, and the metropolitan country was represented only by its administrative and technical services and the commercial firms which were contributing to the development of the country. According to the British philos-

ophy, the "inhabitants" of a territory were all those people who had made their homes in the country and had given it their loyalty and affection. Their future and the future of their children was bound up with the prosperity and well-being of the country in which they had made their homes. Where some degree of settlement had taken place, the future of a territory depended on the promotion of a real partnership between all the races constituting the population of that territory. The problem of the multi-racial community was, however, a world-wide problem, and the United Nations itself represented an attempt to solve that problem. Different countries in different continents were also grappling with individual problems posed by the coexistence of different races and religions. In some cases, the problem had already been solved and in others it was on the road to solution; elsewhere again, the prospects were less hopeful. The United Kingdom, for its part, was applying what it called the system of partnership, which it believed would enable it to find a solution of the problem of the multi-racial community that would be in keeping with British ideals and traditions.

13. It could therefore be said that the word "colonialism" today represented something quite different and that its objectives and purposes were indistinguishable from those of the programmes for the economic and social development of under-developed areas supported by the United Nations, save for one important reservation. It was the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom alone, which was responsible for guiding its territories towards political self-government. That responsibility, from which it could not divest itself, applied equally to colonies and protectorates. It was only in the case of Trust Territories that it was to some extent shared with others.

14. He hoped that during the current session of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee's discussions would take place in that dispassionate, reasoned and friendly atmosphere in which alone the United Nations could achieve its objectives. It was important to acknowledge the existence of the rights, interests and duties of each Member of the Organization. After all, the purpose of the Fourth Committee was to promote the well-being and happiness of millions of men and women in the territories entrusted to the administration of certain Powers; its members should not, therefore, seek political advantages for their countries nor attempt to make propaganda.

15. He wished to show by a few examples that his Government's policy was not simply a collection of good intentions but consisted of a whole series of vigorous and effective plans which were being steadily and resolutely carried out. There were today very few British territories which did not possess their own representative institutions, in the form of a legislative council or house of assembly, which corresponded roughly to Parliament in the United Kingdom. Obviously, the system of parliamentary democracy in the United Kingdom was not necessarily suited to all the peoples whom it was leading towards self-government. Nevertheless, the great independent nations formerly associated with the United Kingdom had drawn upon British practice and precedent for their parliamentary institutions, their common law and system of justice, their education, their finance or their machinery of government. The form of political democracy which had been evolved

over centuries in the United Kingdom therefore seemed a model which the territories in question could take as a guide.

16. The growth of democratic institutions in the colonial territories of the United Kingdom generally followed a common pattern. First, a central legislative body formed of officials only was established. Then, a number of prominent local personalities representing all sections of the community were appointed as non-official members and thus gained valuable experience in legislative and administrative matters. The next stage was to give the non-official members a majority in the body concerned and to proceed from a situation in which most of them were appointed to one in which the majority was elected. As a final stage, the whole council or assembly was elected on the basis of the broadest suffrage possible and a ministerial system was introduced whereby the elected members were placed in charge of departments of government and were answerable to the assembly. That was the prelude to complete self-government. At that stage, however, the greatest forbearance must be observed on both sides and by the world at large, if the final transfer of power was to take place smoothly.

17. There was a wealth of difference between such a system and the severe central control enforced in totalitarian States. There were unofficial majorities in the legislative bodies of no less than twenty-five United Kingdom territories, approximately two-thirds of the total. Obviously, however, it was not necessary to introduce exactly the same system of parliamentary government in every territory; in some regions, the interests of the people could best be served by a federal system or some other modification of the general pattern.

18. It was often said that good government was no substitute for self-government, but assuredly unless a government was capable of preserving a sufficient degree of law and order and economic and social stability, the premature achievement of self-government could only be damaging to the vast majority of its citizens and could only end in chaos. He had therefore read with great interest the part of the report by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories dealing with social conditions in those territories. In general, the report represented a fair and balanced approach to the problems and it had brought into prominence a number of guiding principles which might well be followed by all who were concerned with the economic and social development of under-developed countries.

19. Much of that section of the report was of general application and would be equally valuable to other Members of the United Nations who were responsible for ensuring the advancement of large numbers of backward peoples. Indeed, a report of that sort would have been even more useful if it had contained comparative information regarding similar problems in territories in the same geographic regions and with the same internal difficulties created by climate, geology and history. The fact that certain peoples were afflicted with poverty and disease was completely unaffected by their political status; if economic and social conditions were bad, they would suffer the pangs of hunger whether they were self-governing or not. Consequently, if the United Nations continued to devote considerable attention to

economic and social conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, it should be in a broader non-political context destined to solve such problems wherever they existed; all the nations of the world might unite to defeat poverty, disease and social tensions throughout the world.

20. In the social and economic fields, United Kingdom policy consisted in enlisting the willing co-operation of the people themselves. The United Kingdom therefore attached great importance to the development of education in the broadest sense, that was to say, not only the provision of universal primary education in order to eliminate illiteracy, but also the setting up of an educational system affording facilities in the territories themselves, or on a regional basis, for secondary, technical and higher education.

21. In Southern Nigeria, in 1921, there had been 212 government and assisted schools with an enrolment of 30,000 pupils. In Northern Nigeria, education had been only beginning and had been mainly in the hands of a few missionaries. Now, there were some 9,000 schools and a million pupils. In the Gold Coast, there had been a tenfold increase in the number of children attending school within a single generation. Whereas thirty years earlier, in East and Central Africa, there had been no secondary schools and only a very low level of primary education, now the University College of East Africa prepared its students for external degrees at the University of London. In Jamaica, in 1910, 95,000 children had been enrolled at primary schools and the Government had spent £67,000 a year on all types of education. In 1950, 211,000 children out of a total of 280,000 children between the ages of seven and fifteen had been enrolled in primary schools and government expenditure on education had amounted to over £1,500,000. In the Federation of Malaya, 720,000 children had attended school in January 1952 compared with 264,000 in 1946. In the same period, the number of teachers had tripled. With the aid of grants totalling several million pounds from the funds contributed by British taxpayers, one new university had been established in Malaya and four university colleges in the West Indies, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and East Africa, in addition to the older universities of Malta and Hong Kong. Whereas, in 1939, 300 colonial students had been attending universities in the United Kingdom, they now numbered 5,000, of whom some 1,500 held scholarships. The best evidence of the success of the drive for educational facilities was to be found in the constantly increasing number of indigenous inhabitants who were achieving prominence in politics, the professions, business and the civil service of their own countries.

22. It should not be forgotten, however, that over 96 per cent of the members of the colonial service, that was to say, those officials who served the peoples of the territories either as administrators or in the technical services, were locally recruited. In 1938, there had been only 26 Nigerians in the Senior Service in that Territory, whereas in 1950 there had been 364. In the Gold Coast, there were 500 Africans in the Senior Service as against only 31 in 1938.

23. It should also be stressed that the energy, productivity and social stability of a territory depended in large measure on the health of the people. In many under-developed areas, and notably in Africa, it had not been so very long ago that entire populations had had to

fight against ill health from the cradle to an early grave. Perhaps the most striking achievements in the last half century in tropical Africa had been connected with the attack on endemic and epidemic diseases. The problem which remained was to find the resources which would allow full use to be made of the scientific knowledge that had been acquired. The part of the Committee's report dealing with social conditions covered that problem adequately and he would not deal at all extensively with the question. He wished to recall, however, that much of the pioneer work against malaria had been carried out by men in the service of the United Kingdom Government in areas which, at the time, had been non-self-governing. The work of research was going on and substantial results had been obtained in connexion with leprosy and scrub typhus. Some measure of the progress achieved in the development of health services could be seen from the fact that, in 1928, government expenditure on the health services in Nigeria had been less than half a million pounds, whereas, in 1951, it had been over three and a half million pounds. The death rate in Singapore in 1949 had been as low as that in the United Kingdom, while the infant mortality rate now stood at 73 compared with 130 in 1939. In Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, it was estimated that the average length of life had increased by fifteen years since 1921. Many figures could be quoted to prove that in the Non-Self-Governing Territories for which the United Kingdom was responsible death rates and infant mortality rates had been lowered more quickly and were lower than in other territories, whether independent or non-self-governing, in the same geographical regions. It was by comparisons of that kind that the effectiveness of United Kingdom achievements could be gauged and not by comparison of the existing situation with the ideals which everyone would like to see realized but which could not be attained simply by a wave of a magic wand.

24. None of those advances in education and social services could be sustained unless the economic prosperity of the territories was such that they could bear the recurrent costs. So far the United Kingdom Government's activities in its Non-Self-Governing Territories had been financed by gifts and loans from the United Kingdom. It would, however, be contrary to his Government's aims and political beliefs to allow those territories to achieve self-government in such a way that they remained forever dependent upon outside sources of finance. It was for that reason that the United Kingdom had laid great stress in recent years on the economic development of its overseas territories. The economic development plans that had been drawn up had not been conceived in the interest of the metropolitan country, which very frequently bore the cost of such development, but in the interests of the peoples of the territories, whose prosperity it was the duty of the United Kingdom to promote.

25. The few examples he had given should be sufficient to refute the accusations sometimes levelled at the United Kingdom, particularly by those whose own records in such matters did not bear examination. Those concrete examples entirely disposed of the theory that all colonial peoples lived in a state of slavery and had no hope for the future unless brusquely freed from their bonds. The United Nations had been designed as an organization which would bring people together; it

would be a sad travesty of the intentions of its founders if it were to be used as a mechanism for setting people against each other. He hoped that nothing would be done in the Fourth Committee which would tend to exacerbate such differences as might exist. The United Kingdom welcomed all constructive criticism, since it wished to learn from the experiences of others. Nevertheless, he would not hesitate to refute mis-statements based on a misunderstanding of the actions of the United Kingdom Government or on malice or prejudice. He was convinced that, if the Fourth Committee approached the problems in full awareness of the need to achieve the happiness, prosperity and human dignity of the non-self-governing peoples, it would not fail.

26. Mr. SASTROAMIDJOJO (Indonesia) wished, on behalf of his Government, to protest strongly against the submission of reports on Irian (Netherlands New Guinea) by the Netherlands Government, under Article 73 e of the Charter.

27. It was generally known that the Indonesian name for Western New Guinea was Irian. Irian was not merely another name; it expressed a national claim of the Indonesian people that could not consider its struggle for independence complete as long as part of its territory was held in colonial bondage.

28. Historically, politically and legally, Irian had always been part of Indonesia and only the unwillingness of the Netherlands Government to put an end to its unlawful occupation of the territory had prevented it from achieving independence with the other parts of Indonesia.

29. Irian, therefore, was certainly not a Non-Self-Governing Territory and his delegation could not agree to its being listed as such in official United Nations documents, for instance in the green booklet containing summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1951 (ST/TRI/SER.A/6 and Add.1). The Secretariat should not be blamed for that situation since it had only summarized the information submitted by the Netherlands Government; full responsibility rested with that Government which had seen fit, notwithstanding the Indonesian Government's protests, to submit reports under Article 73 e and had stated that sovereignty over Western New Guinea rested with the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

30. His Government wished to go on record as reserving all its rights in the only part of Indonesia which was still under colonial rule.

31. In his opinion it was of the greatest importance to determine exactly what comprised the territory of Indonesia. According to the Constitution of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of the Netherlands consisted of the territories of the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles; there was no specific mention of Western New Guinea. The term "Indonesia" was used in that instance to indicate all the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. It therefore seemed logical to assume that New Guinea had been part of Indonesia when the Netherlands sovereignty over Indonesia had been transferred.

32. The legal instrument governing the transfer of sovereignty and determining the scope and nature of that sovereignty was the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty agreed upon at the Round Table Conference at The Hague. According to article 1 of that agreement,

the Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transferred complete sovereignty over Indonesia and thereby recognized the said Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent and sovereign State. That article obviously conferred unlimited sovereignty over the whole territory of Indonesia to the Republic of Indonesia. Irian was undeniably part of Indonesia, just as Sumatra or the Celebes, and it followed logically that sovereignty over Irian had been transferred to the Indonesian Government.

33. Indeed, the fact that Irian was part of Indonesia was mentioned in the first report of the Netherlands on Irian, which stated that "Until the transfer of sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on 27 December 1949, the territory of Netherlands New Guinea formed the Residency of New Guinea of Indonesia" (A/1273/Add.1).

34. He felt certain that the Netherlands representative would raise the point that the second article of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty threw a different light on the problem. He therefore quoted the parts of that article that had an immediate bearing on the question and in particular the last paragraph: "... it is decided ... that the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands".

35. Articles 1 and 2 could not be considered apart from each other without grossly distorting the perspective. Viewing those two articles in their interrelationship, there could be only one conclusion, namely, that the Indonesian Government, as the new sovereign of the whole of Indonesia, had agreed to a maintenance of the *status quo* for a period of one year after the transfer of sovereignty, on condition that within that year the status of the territory should be decided by negotiations between the parties and that any differences that might exist or subsequently arise between the parties should be settled by negotiations and other peaceful means. It was thus clearly evident that the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty contained no specific provision to the effect that sovereignty over Irian should be assigned to the Netherlands in the event of failure to reach agreement on the status of the territory. If that were the case, as had been repeatedly maintained by the Netherlands Government, it would be tantamount to inviting the Netherlands Government to frustrate from the outset all negotiations. The current state of affairs between the Netherlands and Indonesia was exactly that for which paragraph (f) of article 2 provided, since the negotiations which had taken place in the winter of 1950 unfortunately had not resulted in an agreement.

36. At the conclusion of those negotiations, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs had categorically stated that his Government no longer consented to the continuation of the exercise of authority by the Netherlands in Irian. Consequently, following that formal declaration, the continuance of the exercise of authority by the Netherlands no longer had any legal foundation. Nevertheless, the Netherlands Government had maintained its attitude and had even unilaterally declared itself sovereign in Irian, in complete disregard of the

provisions of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty and, in particular, of those which explicitly called for a negotiated settlement of any dispute over the status of the territory.

37. The Government of Indonesia therefore objected most emphatically to that unilateral action and to the continuance of Netherlands colonial rule over Irian, which were a violation of the Rum-Van Royen Agreements and of the Round Table agreements.

38. The assertion of the Netherlands Government that the sovereignty over Netherlands New Guinea rests with the Kingdom of the Netherlands was devoid of any legal basis and was likely to be misleading, because the suggestion was made by implication that Indonesia had no right to the territory and that no dispute existed between the two countries about the territory. The Government of Indonesia took strong exception to such a presentation of facts.

39. The Indonesian representative then turned to the question of the cessation of transmission of information on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. In that case too, the Netherlands Government was not acting in implementation of Article 73 e of the Charter. Although the status of those territories was not yet settled, owing to the failure of the Round Table Conference that had been caused by the refusal of the Netherlands Government to grant them full autonomy, the Netherlands Government had found it expedient to cease sending reports concerning those territories to the United Nations. It hoped thus to give the world the impression that those territories now enjoyed such a measure of autonomy as to put them on an equal footing with the Netherlands. By ceasing to transmit information about those territories, the Netherlands Government had hoped to lull any misgivings regarding its ultimate intentions and to relegate to the background the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the territories for full self-government. In dealing with information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee should bear in mind the possibility of the existence of motives other than compliance with the provisions of the Charter. The Indonesian delegation took an interest in the question of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles not only because it was anxious to see Article 73 of the Charter observed, but also because of the large number of Indonesians residing in those territories.

40. The Government of Indonesia considered that the attempt made by the Netherlands Government to determine the status of Irian unilaterally was a violation of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty and of the Rum-Van Royen Agreements; it therefore reserved all its rights, claims and interests in connexion with the sovereignty over that disputed territory. In conclusion, he felt compelled to say with regret that the actions of the Netherlands Government with regard to Irian were not conducive to the improvement of relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

41. The CHAIRMAN appealed to the members of the Committee not to digress from the subject on the agenda.

42. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands) would point out, before discussing the legality of the transmission by the Netherlands Government of information on Netherlands New Guinea, that debates on that subject were outside the scope of the item on the Committee's

agenda: "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter". The information to which that article referred related only to educational, economic and social subjects. Information of a political nature, which was included in the reports of some administering Powers, was given under the optional part of the Standard Form. The Netherlands Government had supplied information of that kind, but it had always held that such data were supplied for background information only and that they could not be subject to discussion. The Indonesian representative had however thought it expedient to state his views on the legality of the sovereignty exercised by the Government of the Netherlands over the western part of New Guinea, and Mr. Spits therefore felt obliged to state his Government's position in order that the Committee might have a balanced picture of the situation.

43. The main argument put forward by the Indonesian representative was that in article 1 of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty the Kingdom of the Netherlands had unconditionally and irrevocably transferred complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. At first sight it could be maintained that the transfer of sovereignty applied to the whole of Indonesia as it had been under the Netherlands administration, i.e., including Western New Guinea. The Charter, however, contained two articles, the second of which clearly stated that an exception was made regarding New Guinea.

44. He read out to the Committee the whole text of article 2, which stated that the question of New Guinea remained in dispute at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. It was envisaged that the dispute would be solved through negotiations within a year from the date of the transfer of sovereignty. Conversations held since then had not however led to agreement, so the *status quo* existing at the time of the transfer had not been changed. In a letter to the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation, the Indonesian representative at the Round Table Conference had explicitly said that the clause in article 2 of the Draft Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty reading "the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained" meant that the residency should continue under the Government of the Netherlands.

45. The Kingdom of the Netherlands thus retained the sovereignty over the territory and was quite in order in transmitting information about it to the Secretary-General.

46. In conclusion he said that he would reply to the remarks of the Indonesian representative concerning the cessation of the transmission of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam when the Committee was discussing the agenda item on that subject.

47. Mr. FAHMY (Egypt) began by congratulating the representatives of the Administering Members who had taken part in the Committee's work on the spirit of co-operation and understanding they had constantly shown, even when controversies had arisen or important issues had been at stake. Some had pictured the Committee as divided into two camps, standing jealously and distrustfully on opposite sides. He was glad to be able to disprove that contention, for there had never been any real antagonism. When the welfare of the

populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was at issue there was but one camp, where the sad experience of some of the non-administering Powers and the knowledge and goodwill of the administering Powers were brought together in order to seek effective ways and means for promoting the development and progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards the goals set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter. The Egyptian delegation fully realized that nothing could be peacefully accomplished for the well-being of those territories without the goodwill of the administering Powers. The good understanding prevailing in the Committee was shown by the fact that almost all the resolutions submitted by the Committee during its past three sessions had been adopted by an overwhelming majority of its members, as well as by the fact that the proposal for the renewal of the Committee had been put forward by the representative of one of the administering Powers.

48. The Committee's report showed however that there had been disagreement on two questions: the future of the Committee and the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work. He was nevertheless persuaded that those disagreements had related rather to points of detail than to matters of principle and that it would be possible to settle them.

49. In its two special reports on educational and economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/1303/Rev. 1, part two, and A/1836, part three) the Committee had laid special stress on the paramount necessity for the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the formulation and administration of any development programmes which were of vital concern to them. The current year's report on social conditions had re-emphasized the need for the co-operation of the indigenous inhabitants as an essential condition of social advancement. In fact, no wise Government could hope successfully to apply programmes designed to build or strengthen the economic and social structure of any territory without the full participation of the inhabitants in the formulation and execution of those programmes.

50. During the Committee's most recent session the Secretariat had submitted some information on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the execution of development programmes, but had explained that it was difficult to examine the role played by the inhabitants in advanced territories in the formulation of nation-wide policies, since such information was of a political nature. The Egyptian delegation had emphasized at the time that information on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the more advanced territories in the formulation of programmes should be available to the Committee. His delegation hoped that the Fourth Committee would give definite instructions to the Secretariat to include a summary of such information in its future reports.

51. Mr. Fahmy drew attention to paragraph 12 of part one of the report, which stated that the representatives of the non-administering Powers had felt that the Committee should be informed by the Administering Members of the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the light of General Assembly resolutions and the recommendations in the special reports of the Committee. The Egyptian delegation believed that under its terms of reference the

Committee was authorized to examine the progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, to study information on what had been done in those territories and to submit recommendations on what remained to be done. His delegation had already pointed out that examination of the implementation of recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council had become an important part of the United Nations' work. It had noted too that the United Kingdom delegation, in association with the United States delegation, had itself proposed the strengthening of earlier resolutions on implementation and the question of the sovereignty of States Members had never been raised during the discussion of previous resolutions on the matter. The Fourth Committee should therefore take action to remedy a situation which was inconsistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with essential recommendations made to ensure that the machinery set up by the United Nations worked properly.

52. He congratulated the Staff of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which had worked untiringly and been of the greatest assistance to the Committee. He also paid a tribute to the specialized agencies, whose contribution had been of outstanding value. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands would soon be resumed in the interests of both countries.

53. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) said that the three annual reports submitted by the Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter since 1950 (A/1303/Rev.1, A/1836 and A/2219 and Corr. 1) were particularly useful, expressing as they did the Committee's views on the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

54. He agreed with the Egyptian delegation that the administering Powers should be encouraged to communicate information on the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in application of the resolutions of the General Assembly. The suggestion did not go beyond the Committee's terms of reference, which invited it to examine "any reports or information on measures taken in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories".

55. The suggestion was fully justified since, as paragraph 15 of the report on social conditions (A/2219 and Corr. 1, part two) put it, "no programme for the improvement of the life of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories can have any hope of success unless it has the consent and whole-hearted support of the peoples". There was also a deeper reason for supporting the suggestion, based on the provisions of the Charter and in particular on Article 1, paragraphs 3 and 4, which called for the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; on Article 55, with its emphasis on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; on Article 73 as a whole; and on clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The representatives should carefully study the provisions of the Charter which laid down the lines of advance towards the fulfilment of the objectives of the

United Nations. Article 73 must be read as a whole; it envisaged both the end—self-government—and the means—the political, social and educational advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, guided by the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories must be paramount. To obtain the fullest co-operation from the inhabitants, Assembly resolutions should be given the widest publicity in the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that the inhabitants should become aware of the General Assembly's practical interest in their welfare and progress.

56. Turning to the question of the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee, he noted that what was meant was participation in the deliberations, not the decisions, of the Committee. The Committee had been divided on the matter, and he hoped that the Fourth Committee would give careful consideration to the suggestions he had submitted to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. He had proposed that the territories should be divided into three main categories: territories on which no further information was transmitted; territories which had some measure of self-government; and territories which were still in an elementary state of evolution. The degree and the form of participation would vary with each category of territory, and initially only countries in the first group would be invited to participate in the Committee's work.

57. With regard to the future of the Committee, he said that when the Committee had studied that point, his delegation had been among those which proposed that it should become a permanent organ. In support of that view, he drew attention to two passages from the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report (A/2141/Add.1) which stressed that the political problems created by national aspirations and the rise of nationalism were facts of our times as significant as the "East-West" conflict. Referring to the United States representative's address to the plenary session, he said that it was true that great political progress had been made since the end of the war, but that the moral advantages now enjoyed by the 600 million Asians who had recently achieved political emancipation had sharpened the aspirations of the other 200 million who were not yet directly represented in the United Nations. Those millions must be convinced that there would be no going back on steps already taken and no slackening of the pace of progress. They must be shown that the Charter was a reality for them as well as for Member States. In his view, it was too late to discontinue the work of the Committee, which had justified its existence and demonstrated its practical value from every point of view. Instead of looking back wistfully to the days when the Charter had been signed, the United Nations must press on, proud of the immense progress which it had achieved in so short a time; it must redouble its efforts to improve the status of the non-self-governing peoples.

58. While he fully recognized the practical difficulties facing the Administering Members and their special responsibilities for the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he felt that effect should be given to all the provisions of Article 73 and that no effort should be spared to ensure the attainment of self-government by the peoples to which the Article applied. The United Nations would thus make a real contribution to the establishment of a new world order.

59. Mr. AVELINO (Brazil) said that, as a member of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, his delegation had voted for the adoption of the Committee's report and had thus already expressed its approval of the findings in that report. Without entering on a detailed examination of the questions studied by the Committee, he wished to recall a number of general principles which he felt were worthy of consideration.

60. As the Committee had noted in its report on social conditions (A/2219, para. 13) economic and social development were interdependent and failure to appreciate the social implications of economic development might not only distort the proper purposes of such development but also make it impossible. Under the colonial economic system, it had been the function of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to produce raw materials for the industries of the mother country, but that was no longer the case. Under the Charter, the States responsible for the welfare of the non-self-governing peoples had a sacred trust which required them to regard the interests of the inhabitants of the territories as paramount, and to promote their well-being. Programmes of economic development must therefore be framed with a view to social progress since social progress must, in its turn, provide the basis for the progressive development of the inhabitants towards self-government and the establishment of political institutions of their choice. While the Administering Members were not required to transmit information on political matters, it should not be forgotten that Article 73 b was concerned with the fitness of the inhabitants for self-government. The interdependence of economic and social development was thus of primary importance since together they determined the course of political development.

61. The inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should play an active part in the planning and execution of programmes of social development since they would ultimately be required to study and solve the problems involved in such development themselves. Programmes must not be framed and carried out without their co-operation. It was not enough to be generous towards them; they must be made to understand the importance of those problems and the part which they were called upon to play in that connexion.

62. Turning to the question of external assistance to the Non-Self-Governing Territories in social matters, he noted that the Administering Members were under an obligation to provide them with technical assistance. That was, perhaps, the only justification for the maintenance of a system which dated back to a period when the world situation and the climate of international opinion had been quite different. The administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was the responsibility of certain States but, in defining the objectives to be achieved, Article 73 of the Charter had provided the basis for international co-operation in a field which had

hitherto been closed and exclusive. When the resources available to them were insufficient, the States responsible could and should request the assistance of the specialized agencies.

63. Racial relations, to which the Brazilian delegation attached special importance, were a problem in various countries and various parts of the world but, as the report pointed out, interracial co-operation was much more important in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories because the ethnic origin and the cultural heritage of the majority of the inhabitants were different from those of the peoples of the countries responsible for their administration. There was no room for complacency, for it might one day be found that the situation had become explosive. All ideas of superiority should be eliminated and all privileges abolished without delay. Crime and violence were the inevitable results of a policy of discrimination and segregation.

64. With regard to the question of the transmission of information on the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions and recommendations in the reports of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Avelino felt that more specific information was necessary on action taken pursuant to that Committee's recommendations. That did not mean imposing new obligations on the Administering Members or giving them detailed instructions on the administration of the territories for which they were responsible. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Fourth Committee studied economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in the light of their study, they laid down general principles and made suggestions which might serve to guide the Administering Members. Their work would be meaningless if it did not result in action on the part of those Powers. The Brazilian delegation would support any suggestion under which the Administering Members would be requested to transmit annually, in addition to the other information they were required to furnish under Article 73 of the Charter, special information on the action taken in pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and of General Assembly resolutions. The information submitted might relate to only one of the fields studied annually by the Committee; thus, in 1953, the Administering Members might transmit information on the steps taken in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Committee in 1950 regard to education; in 1954 they could transmit information on economic matters and, in 1955, information on social matters.

65. He hoped that the observations he had just made be considered in a spirit of co-operation and understanding.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

the Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transferred complete sovereignty over Indonesia and thereby recognized the said Republic of the United States of Indonesia as an independent and sovereign State. That article obviously conferred unlimited sovereignty over the whole territory of Indonesia to the Republic of Indonesia. Irian was undeniably part of Indonesia, just as Sumatra or the Celebes, and it followed logically that sovereignty over Irian had been transferred to the Indonesian Government.

33. Indeed, the fact that Irian was part of Indonesia was mentioned in the first report of the Netherlands on Irian, which stated that "Until the transfer of sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on 27 December 1949, the territory of Netherlands New Guinea formed the Residency of New Guinea of Indonesia" (A/1273/Add.1).

34. He felt certain that the Netherlands representative would raise the point that the second article of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty threw a different light on the problem. He therefore quoted the parts of that article that had an immediate bearing on the question and in particular the last paragraph: "... it is decided . . . that the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands".

35. Articles 1 and 2 could not be considered apart from each other without grossly distorting the perspective. Viewing those two articles in their interrelationship, there could be only one conclusion, namely, that the Indonesian Government, as the new sovereign of the whole of Indonesia, had agreed to a maintenance of the *status quo* for a period of one year after the transfer of sovereignty, on condition that within that year the status of the territory should be decided by negotiations between the parties and that any differences that might exist or subsequently arise between the parties should be settled by negotiations and other peaceful means. It was thus clearly evident that the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty contained no specific provision to the effect that sovereignty over Irian should be assigned to the Netherlands in the event of failure to reach agreement on the status of the territory. If that were the case, as had been repeatedly maintained by the Netherlands Government, it would be tantamount to inviting the Netherlands Government to frustrate from the outset all negotiations. The current state of affairs between the Netherlands and Indonesia was exactly that for which paragraph (f) of article 2 provided, since the negotiations which had taken place in the winter of 1950 unfortunately had not resulted in an agreement.

36. At the conclusion of those negotiations, the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs had categorically stated that his Government no longer consented to the continuation of the exercise of authority by the Netherlands in Irian. Consequently, following that formal declaration, the continuance of the exercise of authority by the Netherlands no longer had any legal foundation. Nevertheless, the Netherlands Government had maintained its attitude and had even unilaterally declared itself sovereign in Irian, in complete disregard of the

provisions of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty and, in particular, of those which explicitly called for a negotiated settlement of any dispute over the status of the territory.

37. The Government of Indonesia therefore objected most emphatically to that unilateral action and to the continuance of Netherlands colonial rule over Irian, which were a violation of the Rum-Van Royen Agreements and of the Round Table agreements.

38. The assertion of the Netherlands Government that the sovereignty over Netherlands New Guinea rests with the Kingdom of the Netherlands was devoid of any legal basis and was likely to be misleading, because the suggestion was made by implication that Indonesia had no right to the territory and that no dispute existed between the two countries about the territory. The Government of Indonesia took strong exception to such a presentation of facts.

39. The Indonesian representative then turned to the question of the cessation of transmission of information on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. In that case too, the Netherlands Government was not acting in implementation of Article 73 e of the Charter. Although the status of those territories was not yet settled, owing to the failure of the Round Table Conference that had been caused by the refusal of the Netherlands Government to grant them full autonomy, the Netherlands Government had found it expedient to cease sending reports concerning those territories to the United Nations. It hoped thus to give the world the impression that those territories now enjoyed such a measure of autonomy as to put them on an equal footing with the Netherlands. By ceasing to transmit information about those territories, the Netherlands Government had hoped to lull any misgivings regarding its ultimate intentions and to relegate to the background the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the territories for full self-government. In dealing with information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Committee should bear in mind the possibility of the existence of motives other than compliance with the provisions of the Charter. The Indonesian delegation took an interest in the question of Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles not only because it was anxious to see Article 73 of the Charter observed, but also because of the large number of Indonesians residing in those territories.

40. The Government of Indonesia considered that the attempt made by the Netherlands Government to determine the status of Irian unilaterally was a violation of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty and of the Rum-Van Royen Agreements; it therefore reserved all its rights, claims and interests in connexion with the sovereignty over that disputed territory. In conclusion, he felt compelled to say with regret that the actions of the Netherlands Government with regard to Irian were not conducive to the improvement of relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

41. The CHAIRMAN appealed to the members of the Committee not to digress from the subject on the agenda.

42. Mr. SPITS (Netherlands) would point out, before discussing the legality of the transmission by the Netherlands Government of information on Netherlands New Guinea, that debates on that subject were outside the scope of the item on the Committee's

agenda: "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter". The information to which that article referred related only to educational, economic and social subjects. Information of a political nature, which was included in the reports of some administering Powers, was given under the optional part of the Standard Form. The Netherlands Government had supplied information of that kind, but it had always held that such data were supplied for background information only and that they could not be subject to discussion. The Indonesian representative had however thought it expedient to state his views on the legality of the sovereignty exercised by the Government of the Netherlands over the western part of New Guinea, and Mr. Spits therefore felt obliged to state his Government's position in order that the Committee might have a balanced picture of the situation.

43. The main argument put forward by the Indonesian representative was that in article 1 of the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty the Kingdom of the Netherlands had unconditionally and irrevocably transferred complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. At first sight it could be maintained that the transfer of sovereignty applied to the whole of Indonesia as it had been under the Netherlands administration, i.e., including Western New Guinea. The Charter, however, contained two articles, the second of which clearly stated that an exception was made regarding New Guinea.

44. He read out to the Committee the whole text of article 2, which stated that the question of New Guinea remained in dispute at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. It was envisaged that the dispute would be solved through negotiations within a year from the date of the transfer of sovereignty. Conversations held since then had not however led to agreement, so the *status quo* existing at the time of the transfer had not been changed. In a letter to the Chairman of the Netherlands delegation, the Indonesian representative at the Round Table Conference had explicitly said that the clause in article 2 of the Draft Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty reading "the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained" meant that the residency should continue under the Government of the Netherlands.

45. The Kingdom of the Netherlands thus retained the sovereignty over the territory and was quite in order in transmitting information about it to the Secretary-General.

46. In conclusion he said that he would reply to the remarks of the Indonesian representative concerning the cessation of the transmission of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam when the Committee was discussing the agenda item on that subject.

47. Mr. FAHMY (Egypt) began by congratulating the representatives of the Administering Members who had taken part in the Committee's work on the spirit of co-operation and understanding they had constantly shown, even when controversies had arisen or important issues had been at stake. Some had pictured the Committee as divided into two camps, standing jealously and distrustfully on opposite sides. He was glad to be able to disprove that contention, for there had never been any real antagonism. When the welfare of the

populations of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was at issue there was but one camp, where the sad experience of some of the non-administering Powers and the knowledge and goodwill of the administering Powers were brought together in order to seek effective ways and means for promoting the development and progress of the Non-Self-Governing Territories towards the goals set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter. The Egyptian delegation fully realized that nothing could be peacefully accomplished for the well-being of those territories without the goodwill of the administering Powers. The good understanding prevailing in the Committee was shown by the fact that almost all the resolutions submitted by the Committee during its past three sessions had been adopted by an overwhelming majority of its members, as well as by the fact that the proposal for the renewal of the Committee had been put forward by the representative of one of the administering Powers.

48. The Committee's report showed however that there had been disagreement on two questions: the future of the Committee and the participation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work. He was nevertheless persuaded that those disagreements had related rather to points of detail than to matters of principle and that it would be possible to settle them.

49. In its two special reports on educational and economic conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories (A/1303/Rev. 1, part two, and A/1836, part three) the Committee had laid special stress on the paramount necessity for the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the formulation and administration of any development programmes which were of vital concern to them. The current year's report on social conditions had re-emphasized the need for the co-operation of the indigenous inhabitants as an essential condition of social advancement. In fact, no wise Government could hope successfully to apply programmes designed to build or strengthen the economic and social structure of any territory without the full participation of the inhabitants in the formulation and execution of those programmes.

50. During the Committee's most recent session the Secretariat had submitted some information on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the execution of development programmes, but had explained that it was difficult to examine the role played by the inhabitants in advanced territories in the formulation of nation-wide policies, since such information was of a political nature. The Egyptian delegation had emphasized at the time that information on the participation of the indigenous inhabitants of the more advanced territories in the formulation of programmes should be available to the Committee. His delegation hoped that the Fourth Committee would give definite instructions to the Secretariat to include a summary of such information in its future reports.

51. Mr. Fahmy drew attention to paragraph 12 of part one of the report, which stated that the representatives of the non-administering Powers had felt that the Committee should be informed by the Administering Members of the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the light of General Assembly resolutions and the recommendations in the special reports of the Committee. The Egyptian delegation believed that under its terms of reference the

Committee was authorized to examine the progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, to study information on what had been done in those territories and to submit recommendations on what remained to be done. His delegation had already pointed out that examination of the implementation of recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council had become an important part of the United Nations' work. It had noted too that the United Kingdom delegation, in association with the United States delegation, had itself proposed the strengthening of earlier resolutions on implementation and the question of the sovereignty of States Members had never been raised during the discussion of previous resolutions on the matter. The Fourth Committee should therefore take action to remedy a situation which was inconsistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and with essential recommendations made to ensure that the machinery set up by the United Nations worked properly.

52. He congratulated the Staff of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which had worked untiringly and been of the greatest assistance to the Committee. He also paid a tribute to the specialized agencies, whose contribution had been of outstanding value. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands would soon be resumed in the interests of both countries.

53. Mr. Shiva RAO (India) said that the three annual reports submitted by the Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter since 1950 (A/1303/Rev.1, A/1836 and A/2219 and Corr. 1) were particularly useful, expressing as they did the Committee's views on the problems of the Non-Self-Governing Territories.

54. He agreed with the Egyptian delegation that the administering Powers should be encouraged to communicate information on the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in application of the resolutions of the General Assembly. The suggestion did not go beyond the Committee's terms of reference, which invited it to examine "any reports or information on measures taken in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories".

55. The suggestion was fully justified since, as paragraph 15 of the report on social conditions (A/2219 and Corr. 1, part two) put it, "no programme for the improvement of the life of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories can have any hope of success unless it has the consent and whole-hearted support of the peoples". There was also a deeper reason for supporting the suggestion, based on the provisions of the Charter and in particular on Article 1, paragraphs 3 and 4, which called for the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; on Article 55, with its emphasis on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; on Article 73 as a whole; and on clauses of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The representatives should carefully study the provisions of the Charter which laid down the lines of advance towards the fulfilment of the objectives of the

United Nations. Article 73 must be read as a whole; it envisaged both the end—self-government—and the means—the political, social and educational advancement of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, guided by the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the territories must be paramount. To obtain the fullest co-operation from the inhabitants, Assembly resolutions should be given the widest publicity in the Non-Self-Governing Territories so that the inhabitants should become aware of the General Assembly's practical interest in their welfare and progress.

56. Turning to the question of the association of the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the work of the Committee, he noted that what was meant was participation in the deliberations, not the decisions, of the Committee. The Committee had been divided on the matter, and he hoped that the Fourth Committee would give careful consideration to the suggestions he had submitted to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. He had proposed that the territories should be divided into three main categories: territories on which no further information was transmitted; territories which had some measure of self-government; and territories which were still in an elementary state of evolution. The degree and the form of participation would vary with each category of territory, and initially only countries in the first group would be invited to participate in the Committee's work.

57. With regard to the future of the Committee, he said that when the Committee had studied that point, his delegation had been among those which proposed that it should become a permanent organ. In support of that view, he drew attention to two passages from the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report (A/2141/Add.1) which stressed that the political problems created by national aspirations and the rise of nationalism were facts of our times as significant as the "East-West" conflict. Referring to the United States representative's address to the plenary session, he said that it was true that great political progress had been made since the end of the war, but that the moral advantages now enjoyed by the 600 million Asians who had recently achieved political emancipation had sharpened the aspirations of the other 200 million who were not yet directly represented in the United Nations. Those millions must be convinced that there would be no going back on steps already taken and no slackening of the pace of progress. They must be shown that the Charter was a reality for them as well as for Member States. In his view, it was too late to discontinue the work of the Committee, which had justified its existence and demonstrated its practical value from every point of view. Instead of looking back wistfully to the days when the Charter had been signed, the United Nations must press on, proud of the immense progress which it had achieved in so short a time; it must redouble its efforts to improve the status of the non-self-governing peoples.

58. While he fully recognized the practical difficulties facing the Administering Members and their special responsibilities for the administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, he felt that effect should be given to all the provisions of Article 73 and that no effort should be spared to ensure the attainment of self-government by the peoples to which the Article applied. The United Nations would thus make a real contribution to the establishment of a new world order.

59. Mr. AVELINO (Brazil) said that, as a member of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, his delegation had voted for the adoption of the Committee's report and had thus already expressed its approval of the findings in that report. Without entering on a detailed examination of the questions studied by the Committee, he wished to recall a number of general principles which he felt were worthy of consideration.

60. As the Committee had noted in its report on social conditions (A/2219, para. 13) economic and social development were interdependent and failure to appreciate the social implications of economic development might not only distort the proper purposes of such development but also make it impossible. Under the colonial economic system, it had been the function of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to produce raw materials for the industries of the mother country, but that was no longer the case. Under the Charter, the States responsible for the welfare of the non-self-governing peoples had a sacred trust which required them to regard the interests of the inhabitants of the territories as paramount, and to promote their well-being. Programmes of economic development must therefore be framed with a view to social progress since social progress must, in its turn, provide the basis for the progressive development of the inhabitants towards self-government and the establishment of political institutions of their choice. While the Administering Members were not required to transmit information on political matters, it should not be forgotten that Article 73 b was concerned with the fitness of the inhabitants for self-government. The interdependence of economic and social development was thus of primary importance since together they determined the course of political development.

61. The inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories should play an active part in the planning and execution of programmes of social development since they would ultimately be required to study and solve the problems involved in such development themselves. Programmes must not be framed and carried out without their co-operation. It was not enough to be generous towards them; they must be made to understand the importance of those problems and the part which they were called upon to play in that connexion.

62. Turning to the question of external assistance to the Non-Self-Governing Territories in social matters, he noted that the Administering Members were under an obligation to provide them with technical assistance. That was, perhaps, the only justification for the maintenance of a system which dated back to a period when the world situation and the climate of international opinion had been quite different. The administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territories was the responsibility of certain States but, in defining the objectives to be achieved, Article 73 of the Charter had provided the basis for international co-operation in a field which had

hitherto been closed and exclusive. When the resources available to them were insufficient, the States responsible could and should request the assistance of the specialized agencies.

63. Racial relations, to which the Brazilian delegation attached special importance, were a problem in various countries and various parts of the world but, as the report pointed out, interracial co-operation was much more important in most of the Non-Self-Governing Territories because the ethnic origin and the cultural heritage of the majority of the inhabitants were different from those of the peoples of the countries responsible for their administration. There was no room for complacency, for it might one day be found that the situation had become explosive. All ideas of superiority should be eliminated and all privileges abolished without delay. Crime and violence were the inevitable results of a policy of discrimination and segregation.

64. With regard to the question of the transmission of information on the action taken and progress achieved in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions and recommendations in the reports of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Mr. Avelino felt that more specific information was necessary on action taken pursuant to that Committee's recommendations. That did not mean imposing new obligations on the Administering Members or giving them detailed instructions on the administration of the territories for which they were responsible. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Fourth Committee studied economic, social and educational conditions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, and in the light of their study, they laid down general principles and made suggestions which might serve to guide the Administering Members. Their work would be meaningless if it did not result in action on the part of those Powers. The Brazilian delegation would support any suggestion under which the Administering Members would be requested to transmit annually, in addition to the other information they were required to furnish under Article 73 of the Charter, special information on the action taken in pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and of General Assembly resolutions. The information submitted might relate to only one of the fields studied annually by the Committee; thus, in 1953, the Administering Members might transmit information on the steps taken in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Committee in 1950 regard to education; in 1954 they could transmit information on economic matters and, in 1955, information on social matters.

65. He hoped that the observations he had made would be considered in a spirit of co-operation and understanding.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.